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OGIER LE DANOIS AND THE ABBEY OF ST. FARO OF MEAUX

PROFESSOR BÉDIER in his *Légendes épiques*¹ has studied the relation of Ogier le Danois to the abbey of St. Faro of Meaux. He has shown to what a remarkable extent the monks of Meaux were instrumental in the formation of the legend of this epic hero. A romantic story was invented by them to account for his entrance into the abbey. A tale equally romantic was created, relating his rescue of the abbey in which he had become a monk from a horde of invading Saracens. The famous poet of Meaux, Fulcoius, wrote his epitaph in sonorous Latin verse. A magnificent tomb was erected in his memory. His sword, a gigantic one, was for centuries preserved at Meaux as a witness to his greatness.

The question I have here attempted to solve is, What is the origin of the connection of Ogier with this abbey? The work of Becker and particularly of Bédier has made familiar to all readers the practice of the medieval monks of seizing popular legend and ascribing it to one of their number, thereby enhancing the glory of their sanctuaries and attracting pilgrims. Exactly this certainly happened in the case of Ogier. There is no reason to suppose that the historic Carolingian Ogier was buried at Meaux.² It is only in the French tradition, which has been clearly proven to be dependent upon legends furnished by the monks of this abbey, that Meaux is declared to be Ogier's last resting place. In the *Roland* nothing is said of his death. According to the

¹ II, 281 ff.

² Cf. Bédier, *op. cit.*, II, 292.

Pseudo-Turpin (ed. Castets, p. 54) he died at Roncevaux and was buried at Belin, near Bordeaux. According to Albéric des Trois-Fontaines (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, SS., XXIII, 891) he died at Saint-Patrice in the diocese of Nevers.

The legend of Ogier's death as a monk in the abbey of St. Faro of Meaux is easily traceable to its source in a hagiographic composition, the *Conversio Ogerii Militis*.³ According to this document, first published and discussed by Mabillon, the mighty warrior Ogier, second in the empire to Charlemagne alone, decides to forsake the vanities of life and to spend his remaining days in holy contemplation. He departs from the court, assumes the garb of a pilgrim and wanders about in search of that monastery in which the monks are farthest removed from worldly thoughts. To the end of his pilgrim's staff he attaches straps from which are suspended small balls of iron. He enters monastery after monastery and while the monks are at prayers hurls his staff upon the pavement. Nowhere does he find such intent devotion as in the abbey of St. Faro of Meaux, for there, at the unusual sound, no one is disturbed from his prayers except a small boy, who is promptly punished. Ogier is satisfied and persuades his companion-in-arms Benoît to follow him in his renunciation of the world. Charlemagne, at the prayer of Ogier, gives into the possession of the abbey of St. Faro an abbey at Rez near Meaux and another at Vercelli in Piedmont. The sanctity of the hero is attested by miracles after his death.

With the exception of the mention of the abbeys of Rez and Vercelli all of this story is certainly apocryphal.⁴ The test of the staff with the iron balls is a familiar one and was unquestionably

³ Cf. Bédier, *op. cit.*, II, 288 ff. The *Conversio* has been published in full in the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists, Oct., XII, 620 ff.; in part in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti*, saec. IV, pars I, p. 622 ff. (Venice edition.)

⁴ The *Conversio* is a saint's life of the conventional sort. It relates the worldly greatness of the hero, his realization of the vanity of life, his piety and self-chastisement after conversion, his prayer to the king to aid the "fratres famulantes," the miracles operated at his tomb. The composition is full of commonplaces, "moralitates," and borrowings from the gospels. (Compare Zoepf, *Das Heiligen-Leben im 10. Jahrhundert*, in *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, 1908, heft 1, especially p. 42 ff.)

not invented by an historic Ogier. There can be no doubt but that a monk of Meaux with a desire to glorify his abbey borrowed the story from the legend of Walter of Aquitaine, Otto the Great or some other hero and ascribed it to the French Ogier.

It is to be especially noticed that this story is subjoined to a life of St. Faro and is not an integral part of the work. There are two lives of St. Faro extant, one by Hildegair, bishop of Meaux (855-875), and an anonymous life which seems to be based in part on that of Hildegair.⁵ To which one of these lives the *Conversio* was appended it is impossible to say. It appears in the MSS.⁶ now of one life, now of the other, in all cases, so far as I know, introduced with the words: *Faronis vitae venerandae dignum est subscribere*. It is to be considered a separate work and we cannot with certainty date it farther back than the tenth century, when Mabillon's MS. (now lost) was probably written.⁷

The *Conversio Ogerii* is, then, without question unhistorical and was added to a life of St. Faro at an unknown date. What induced the author to write the *Conversio*, or rather what pretext did he have, for we know that he needed only a pretext to ascribe this fascinating legend to a hero of Meaux? Why did he choose Ogier rather than Naime, Olivier or some other paladin? Mabillon arrived at what seems to be the correct solution of the problem. In the life of St. Faro by Hildegair we find the story of the conversion of a certain Rogier.⁸ This Rogier was a famous

⁵ Mabillon declares so. Hecke, the editor of the anonymous life in the *AA. SS. Boll.*, affirms (p. 596, C) that the anonymous life is as old as that of Hildegair and independent of it. Compare Gröber in *Raccolta D'Ancona*, 1901, pp. 587, 595; Körting in *Zeit. f. Stud. franz. Sp. u. Lit.* XVI, 238; Bertoni in *Rev. Lang. Rom.*, LI, 1908, 45. This matter will probably be decided by Krusch, who, it seems, is preparing a critical edition of the *Vita* of Hildegair for the *Mon. Hist. Germ.* (See Suchier in *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, XVIII, 1894, 176.)

⁶ The *Conversio* is found, for instance, appended to the *Vita* of Hildegair in the Douai MS. 838 (see *Anal. Boll.*, XX, p. 389) and in the Brussels MS. 7460 (see *Catal. Codd. Hagiogr. Bibl. Reg. Brux.*, vol. I); to the anonymous life in the lost MS. used by the Bollandists and in the Paris MS., Bibl. Nat. 13763 (see *Catal. Codd. Hagiogr. Lat. Bibl. Lat. Paris.*, III, 201). It exists also separately, e. g. Brussels MSS. 8751-60 and 9578-80 (see *Catal. . . . Brux.* II, 252, 338).

⁷ Cf. Bédier, *op. cit.*, II, 291.

⁸ Italia . . . regio cum plurimos Comites ex primoribus Magnatorum juxta regalem potentiam Regis Chlotharii filii Ludovici Imperatoris cognomento Pio

warrior at the court of Lothaire, king of Italy, son of Louis the Pious. In a battle of a war against the Bulgarians, Rogier finds himself in great peril. He calls upon St. Faro for aid and vows that if God spares him he will leave the world and enter the monastery of St. Faro at Meaux. He is saved and ends his life at Meaux. This account is certainly historically true. It is short and simple and gives a valid reason for Rogier's renunciation of the world. Furthermore, Hildegairé expressly states that he frequently heard the story from Rogier's own lips and that he had verified it.

Here we seem to have the source of the *Conversio Ogerii*. A monk, remembering vaguely that he has read or heard the story of the conversion of this great warrior of Lothaire's court, is satisfied with this pretext for attributing to him the legend of the staff with the iron balls. It seems probable that in reading the anonymous life of St. Faro he was shocked at not finding there

olim possedisset; specialius unum novimus ex his ad amorem Dei haereditasse ad dilectionem timoremque justitiae sanctitatem in omnibus quaesisse. Hic enimvero a bonis operibus passim divulgatus claruit de nomine Rotgarius. Ut enim gratia divina occultum mundo non redderet, magnificavit eum in quodam bello, quod Chlotharius superius memoratus exacuit contra Bulgarorum gentem. Ipsius praefati Rotgarii denique relatione frequenti ac probatione operis certum mente tenemus, sicut hoc ordine inferemus. Pugnae siquidem conflictus ex utrisque partibus Francorum ac Bulgarorum provocatus, inter mixtos cuneos adversariorum praefatum Rotgarium sors improvisa attulit, ac de equo fidenti circumseptione resistentium corruere compulit. Cumque telis aculeatis loricae reluctantem ad ejus mortem conarentur penetrare, illi ad memoriam invocationis in hoc agone posito accessit solum clarissimi Faronis nomen ex innumerabilibus Sanctorum nominibus. At ipsa momentanea hora voto firmissimo Deo se obligans ut si adesset liberator tantus praestantissimus Confessor, hoc in loco ad serviendum ei spreto malefido saeculo accederet devotissimus debitor; illico huic voto adfuit Divinum auxilium, quo invocatione tanti Confessoris mirabiliter liberatus evasit ab ipsis faucibus crudelissimae mortis inlaesus. Qui postmodum hanc devotionem obligationis libentissime exsecutus, quam laudabiliter pondus hujus abnegaverit saeculi, adhaerendo hoc in loco Religioni Monastici; quam assiduus in orationibus publicis atque furtivis, parcus in cibis, continuus in vigiliis, cotidie etiam intentus in renovandis Confessionum poenitentis exstiterit, non similem nobis tempora admirantur nostra, nec ad exemplum vix similem aut rarissime largiuntur. Talem ac tantum voluit sibi admirabilis Antistes Dei Faro in longinquis regionibus procurare, qui ad ejus loci excubias curasset vitam Angelicam ad illuminationem multorum ducere.

(Hildegairé's Life of St. Faro, ch. CXIX: Mabillon, *AA. SS.* saec. II, p. 595; also in saec. IV, pars I, p. 627; reprinted by Bouquet, *Recueil* etc. VI, 293).

the account of this glorious intervention of the saint, which he remembered indistinctly from the life of Hildegair. So it seemed worth while to him to subjoin the tale (*Faronis . . . vitae . . . dignum est subscribere*). Already in the course of the repetition, either orally or by writing, of the Rogier story the name had perhaps been changed to Ogier and the legend of the staff ascribed to the latter. No great paladin Rogier was known to the monks—there is no great Rogier in epic tradition (see Langlois, *Table des Noms propres dans les Chansons de Geste*, Paris, 1904)—and it was a simple matter advertently or inadvertently to substitute the well-known name *Ogier* for the unknown *Rogier*. Legends certainly existed in regard to Ogier at this date (see below).

We come now to the difference in the names. This is very slight and anyone familiar with medieval chronicles and particularly with the transmission of epic traditions will not be surprised to find the names *Ogier* and *Rogier* confused.⁹ Mabillon¹⁰ did

⁹ The forms in Foerstemann's *Altdeutsches Namensbuch*, Bonn, 1900, show that numberless names were pronounced both with and without an initial aspirate. For the name Ogier see vol. I, col. 193. Compare the Danish form *Holger*. In the north of France the aspirate of German names was surely distinctly felt at this period. Considering the uncertainty prevailing in Foerstemann there can be no question but that Germanic names, even though they were not originally aspirated, might be provided with an aspirate, particularly in non-germanic territory. This is, of course, especially true of names beginning with the back vowels (see Langlois' *Table* under H, O, U.) In the dialect of Meaux was the pronunciation of initial *r* such as to occasion the confusion of *Hogier* and *Rogier*? Compare the substitution of *r* for initial *h* in certain Norman dialects, e. g. *honte* > *ronte*; cf. also *environs* > *envihons* (see Eurén, *Étude sur l'FR français*, Diss., Upsala, 1896, pp. 36, 45, and his references to Joret in *Rom.* XII, 594; XIV, 285). This phonetic possibility is not, however, necessary to my argument. An accidental confusion, considering the willingness of the monks to be confused, is sufficient.

Compare with the fall of initial *r* the following analogous cases: the Lombard king *Rachis* is called *Achis* in a list of Lombard kings (see *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, SS. *Rer. Langobard.* 6.24; *Radoaldi*, var. *Adoaldi*, *ibid.* 116.9; *Rodoald*, var. *Hodoaldus*, *ibid.* 136.22; *Raginpertum*, var. *Aginpertum*, *ibid.* 139.5; *Rhenum*, var. *Henum*, *Hinum*, *ibid.* 178.1; conversely *Ariulfi*, var. *Agiulfi*, *Ragchulfi*, *ibid.* 115.7. The *Rainfroi* of *Berthe au grand Pied* is called *Hainfroi* regularly in the *Mainet* and *Heinfrey* the only time he is mentioned in *Doon de Maience* (see Langlois' *Table*). Assimilation to the name *Heudri* (*Rainfroi's* brother) facilitated the change (cf. Rajna, *Origini*, p. 211, n.). Another *Rainfroi* is called *Hainfroi* in *Huon de Bordeaux* (v. 51, *Hainfrois et Henris*: assimilation here also). That not once in the *chansons de geste* the variant *Rogier* should appear

not hesitate to identify the two on the score of the difference in the names. It is not until he discovered that he was wrong in supposing Ogier to be merely a poetic figure and never to have existed that he was willing to admit the independence of the Rogier of the one *Conversio* and the Ogier of the other. Knowing as we do and as Mabillon did not, that there is no reason to suppose that the historic Ogier died at Meaux, and knowing that the monks of Meaux had every reason to desire in this case to falsify history, we may with comparative certainty return to Mabillon's first conclusion and declare Ogier and Rogier to be one and the same. Nor did Gaston Paris consider a confusion of the names impossible.¹¹ Another great scholar and one thoroughly familiar with the vagaries of medieval scribes apparently admits the possibility of confusion of the two names. In the index to his edition of the epitaphs of Fulcoius of Meaux, Omont prints *Rogierius v. Otgerus*.¹² Barrois,¹³ without suggesting the slightest difficulty in the identification, accepts as the epic Ogier a certain Rogier whose vision of paradise and purgatory Mabillon published in *AA. SS. saec. IV, pars I, pp. 627-8*.

The epic Ogier is once actually called Rogier by Albéric des Trois-Fontaines.¹⁴ This chronicler is well known to have gathered for *Ogier* is not surprising since the name Rogier is almost unknown in the songs (see Langlois' *Table*). Both names are exceedingly common in the historical documents of the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries.

¹¹ *AA. SS. II, 595, Note C.*

¹² *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne, p. 307, n. 1.*

¹³ *Mélanges Havet, Paris 1895, p. 211 ff.* This is of course our Ogier. I cannot understand the reason for this introduction of the name *Rogier*. There is no reference to a Rogier in the epitaph of Ogier. In 1894 Suchier published a study of Lothaire's war against the Saxons in the *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.* (XVIII, 175 ff.). He adds (p. 193) a part of Fulcoius' metrical life of St. Faro, which was transcribed for him by Omont. Did Omont find here any reason to suppose that Ogier was sometimes called Rogier in the ecclesiastic writings of Meaux, or does he accept without further evidence the rejected theory of Mabillon which I am attempting to defend?

¹⁴ *La Chevalerie Ogier, Paris, 1842, p. XXVII.* Barrois, who used the Paris edition of Mabillon, prints "t. I, p. 668." He probably meant "saec. IV, pars I, 668." I have not access to the Paris edition but feel sure that the legend referred to by Barrois is the one I have before me in the Venice edition.

¹⁵ *Mon. Germ. Hist. XXIII, 724.14: Qui (i. e. Ferracutus) Rogerium Dacum, Raynaldum de Alaspina, Constantinum, Oellum misit in carcerem* (cf. *Ogerus rex Daciae, 723.42; rex Ogerus, 723.54; Ogerus, 725.10*). Compare G. Paris, *Histoire poétique, p. 307.*

ered traditions from all sources. Besides the passage referred to he mentions Ogier twice¹⁵ and in each case his statement in regard to our hero is unknown from other sources. So it is evident that the tradition familiar to Albéric was entirely separate from the Meaux tradition. No mention of Meaux is made in Albéric and Ogier is expressly stated to have died and received burial elsewhere. Therefore, we have here a second, entirely independent, case of the confusion of the names *Ogier* and *Rogier*. The passage of Albéric in which Ogier is called *Rogierius Dacus* relates the preliminary battles of Ferragu before his final contest with Roland. The story is familiar and Albéric's source is apparently the *Pseudo-Turpin* (see ch. XVII, ed. Castets). In none of the editions of the *Pseudo-Turpin* is there any trace of a Rogier in the recital of the battle against Ferragu. But in a passage of the Poitevin version (both MSS.), edited by Auracher (*Zeit. f. rom. Phil.* I, p. 284), interpolated some pages before the Ferragu episode, we read the following: *De qui ala Ocgiers a Cordis ob .XV. mire Crestiens. Lors eissit Aiguolanz de Cordis ob .CC. mire Sarrazins. E combatet sei ob Ocgier en la van de Bucirande. E equi fu mors li dux Rainaumes e li dux Rogiers e .II. mire Crestien. Rocgiers fu portez a Sainte Sone.*" The Rogier who died here is not Ogier, but a confusion might easily have resulted from a careless reading of this passage, particularly since there is no important Rogier in the French epics, at any rate in those extant. Ogier is not called *li dux Ogiers* in the Poitevin *Pseudo-Turpin*, but the term *dux* is commonly applied in Latin sources to the various personages who are supposed to be the historic prototypes of the epic Ogier.¹⁶ Albéric calls him once *Auctarius dux*. It seems probable that in the version of the *Pseudo-Turpin* used by Albéric the confusion had already been consummated and that in Albéric's mind *Rogierius dux* and *Ogerius dux* were identical.

¹⁵ The *Lotharius superbus* passage quoted below and the following: *A partibus Hispaniarum venit hoc tempore quidam valde senio confectus miles grandævus, qui se dicebat esse Ogerum de Dacia, de quo legitur in Historia Karoli Magni, et quod mater eius fuerit filia Theoderici de Ardenna. Hic itaque obiit hoc anno, ut dicitur, in dyocesi Nivernensi, villa que ad sanctum Patricium dicitur, prout illic tam clerici quam layci qui viderunt tulerunt.* (*Mon. Germ. Hist. SS.* XXIII, 891.46 ff.)

¹⁶ See the sources quoted in Voretzsch, *Ueber die Sage von Ogier dem Dänen*, Halle, 1891, passim.

In any case, the passage in Albéric is an indisputable example of the substitution of the name *Rogier* for the epic *Ogier* and this substitution is independent of the tradition current at Meaux.

A third independent case of the confusion of the two names may be cited, though here there is no thought of the epic *Ogier*. Monaci in his *Crestomazia italiana dei primi Secoli* (Città di Castello, 1889, p. 209) publishes a *canzone* which is found in only one MS. This song is headed *Rugieri Apulgliese*. But in v. 42 the poet calls himself *Ugieri Apulgliesi*.

The proneness of medieval clerics to identify distinct personages is once more exemplified in the case of our *Ogier*. In a necrology of the abbey of St. Faro, dating from the sixteenth century, after the statement *Obierunt Ogerius le Danois et Benedictus Fratres nostrae Congregationis*, the same scribe added that *Ogier* granted to the abbey of St. Faro all his possessions in Charmentray and that, at his prayer, Charlemagne conferred *multa bona* upon the same monastery. The real *Ogier* of Charmentray had nothing but his name in common with the epic *Ogier*. In 1070, persuaded by his sister, a nun, he entered the abbey of St. Faro with his two children and gave all his possessions to the same monastery.¹⁷ The author of the necrology knew only the great *Ogier* and did not hesitate to identify with him another *Ogier* who lived three hundred years later.¹⁸

The abbey of St. Faro is not alone in claiming without reason the epic *Ogier* as one of its attractions. Adalbertus and Occarius, brothers, without much question both historic, founded a monastery at Tegernsee in Bavaria, in the time of Pippin. Occarius was certainly a Bavarian but was confused with the French *Ogier*; and the mere similarity of the names impelled the monks of Tegernsee to identify Occarius and *Ogier*. According to the legend as we find it in the work of Metellus of Tegernsee (about 1160), Occarius

¹⁷ See Mabillon, *AA. SS.*, IV, I, pp. 619-620.

¹⁸ A Saint Autharius (this name is easily confused in the Latin, though of course not in the popular, form with *Autcharius*, cf. below: *Rotharius*—*Rotcharius*) is mentioned in Hildegare's Life of St. Faro (ch. XIV: Mabillon, *AA. SS.* II, 585). He was apparently a man of importance in the world, was converted, lived in a manner to deserve canonization, and miracles were performed at his grave. It is possible that the story of this Saint Autharius facilitated the confusion of *Ogier* and *Rogier*.

is said to be a duke of the Burgundians whom they extol under the name *Osigerius*. Then is related the disastrous chess game as we have it in the *Chevalerie Ogier*.¹⁹ We find here, therefore, another monastery claiming Ogier on the ground of a similarity in name.

Still a third benefactor of monasteries has, it seems, been identified with the epic Ogier and doubtless here too the inspiration came from a similarity in name. According to a chronicler of the monastery of St. Martin of Cologne, *Olgerus Daniae dux*, with the aid of Charlemagne, in the year 778 restored the monastery after it had been destroyed by the Saxons.²⁰ The *Olgerus* of the MS. may be a scribal error for *Otgerus* or it may be that this was really the name of the noble referred to. At any rate the designation *Daniae dux* shows that he was confused with the epic Ogier.²¹

Remembering that Ogier is called Rogier in one passage of Albéric des Trois-Fontaines, let us consider that most perplexing and much discussed statement of this same chronicler: *Qui Pipinus misit Chrodegangum, sororis sue filium, prius abbatem, post Mettensem episcopum, et Auctarium ducem, qui in cantilena vocatur Lotharius superbus, ut papam adducerent in Franciam*.²² Voretzsch's view (*op. cit.*, p. 109) that we have here a reference to Lothaire's Saxon war is not convincing and is rightly rejected by Becker (*Litblatt.*, 1895, col. 406). Becker thinks that the text is corrupt and that we should read *Otcharius* instead of *Lotharius*. We have one instance of the use of the name *Rogier* for *Ogier* in Albéric. Have we not a second in this passage, and instead of Becker's emendation *Otcharius* ought we not read *Rotharius*? In two cases (there are doubtless more) I have found the variant *Lothari* for *Rothari* (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, SS. Rer. Langobard., p. 59. 23; p. 509). For the equivalence of *th* and *tch* (*Rotharius*, *Rotcharius*) see the index of this volume of the *Monumenta*. The phonetic change of initial *r* to *l* is exceedingly common in all sorts

¹⁹ See Voretzsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-32; 70-77.

²⁰ *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, SS., II, 214.

²¹ That this *Olgerus* is not the Danish hero (*Holger Danske*) is shown by Voretzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 23 ff.

²² *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, SS., XXIII, 708.

of words. The denomination *superbus* applied to Ogier is fully in accord with his character as we know it from the *chansons de geste*.

We have no difficulty in identifying the Ogier of the *Conversio* with the epic Ogier. But who is Benoît, who enters the monastery at the same time with Ogier? He is unquestionably the Benoît of the French *chanson de geste* and we are tempted at first to assume that the author of the *Conversio* has simply taken this personage from the poem in its primitive form. But Bédier (*op. cit.*, II, p. 300; cf. Voretzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 62) has presented an objection worthy of consideration. Benoît is not the name of a layman. It is a name frequently assumed on entering a monastery of the Benedictines.²³ What the original name may have been, we have, of course, no means of ascertaining. There were legends current on Ogier's account at this early period (cf., for instance, the story of Desiderius and Ogier on the tower of Pavia as related by the monk of St. Gall²⁴). Ogier may have had a particularly dear companion according to these early legends, but how did he come to be called Benoît? Bédier has found a Benoît, vicomte de Toulouse, who lived at the beginning of the tenth century. It is not impossible that Ogier's companion was actually called Benoît in the legend before it was transformed by the monks of Meaux and that, therefore, neither the hero nor the name was invented at Meaux. Ample confirmation for the conjecture that Benoît played a part in the story before it reached Meaux is found in the *Chevalerie Ogier*. Here Benoît dies on the battle-field near Châteaufort, in southern France or in Italy (v. 8060). Suddenly, at the end of the poem, we are told that he lies beside Ogier in the abbey of St. Faro of Meaux. So it seems probable that according to the early legend Ogier had a companion named Benoît who died at Châteaufort. The monks of Meaux disregarded this legend and declared that he, the inseparable companion of Ogier, entered the abbey with Ogier and died there. A reviser of the old legend related his death in the battle near Châteaufort and then, under the influence of the tradition current at Meaux, not realizing his in-

²³ Compare the cases cited by Bédier, *l. c.*

²⁴ *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, SS., II, 731.

consistency, asserted at the end of the poem that he was buried at Meaux.

Of the whole *Conversio Ogerii* only the mention of the abbeys of Vercelli and Reda seems historical. As Bédier (*op. cit.*, II, p. 292) remarks, the author might easily have gained this information from an obituary or some similar document.²⁵ No record of the abbey of Vercelli could be found by Hecke, the editor of the *Conversio* in the *AA. SS. Boll.* (p. 623 A). The author says it ceased to be the property of St. Faro when Italy was lost to France. Rogier, we know, lived at the Italian court of Lothaire. It is natural that he should have owned land in Italy, whereas it is extremely unlikely that any should have been held by Ogier. Reda is said by the author of the *Conversio* to be a few miles (*stadiorum octoginta*) distant from Meaux. Mabillon (*op. cit.*, p. 624) identifies this Reda with Rez. The author of the *Conversio* may have been mistaken and the place mentioned in his source may have been some other Reda, perhaps in Italy. A Reda in northern Italy is mentioned in *Mon. Germ. Hist., Dipl. Reg.*, II, 802.39, III, 699.35; cf. II, 695.15, III, 330.11. Is there a Reda near Vercelli? I have at hand no means of investigating this question. The abbey in Vercelli had ceased to be the property of St. Faro before the *Conversio Ogerii* was written. If the abbey of Reda was in Italy the same is true also of it. But the author of the *Conversio* identified the Italian Reda with the Reda in the neighborhood of Meaux, which had been long in the possession of his abbey. It is unlikely that the same man should have held land in northern Italy and near Paris. There can be no doubt about

²⁵ The wording of the *Conversio* seems to imply that the author drew his information in regard to the donation from a separate source. *Ubi* (at the abbey of St. Faro) *arma bellica et omnia, quae in saeculo habuerant, votivo corde pro nomine Jesu Christi relinquentes, quamdiu vixerunt, in sancta religione manserunt.* Immediately follows what seems to be an appendix (of course similar gifts are usual): *In eodem vero anno, quo monachi effecti sunt, Ogerius, jam cognoscens monasticas consuetudines ad Carolum regressus est, monens et humiliter expostulans, ut—S. Faronis monasterium a benefactis non exciperet.* Follows the donation of the abbeys. It is possible that the author is here attempting to validate a disputed claim to Reda by the not unusual means of a forgery; compare, for instance, the quarrel between Aniane and Gellone (see Bédier, *op. cit.*, I, ch. IV.)

the locality of Vercelli. Was not the Reda referred to also in Italy? Vercelli suggests Rogier as the owner of the land granted to the abbey. The author of the *Conversio* ascribes the gift to Ogier, confused with Rogier, just as we have seen the gift of Ogier de Charmentray attributed to the epic Ogier.

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